ciated with Gandhiji were destroyed. The racist regime showed no determination to intervene and restores peace and order. Its police did nothing to protect the lives and properties of people, including those of Indian origin, when they were attacked by anti-social elements. There is ample reason to suspect the hand of the South African Government and their hired agents in the disturbances. I would like to inform the House that this perception is shared by the ANC and leaders of other African States.

We are confident that the people of South Africa will see through the transparent attempts of the racist regime to create artificial divisions in their ranks. The racists' manoeuvres cannot stop the march of history. The oppressed people of South Africa will carry their united struggle to a successful conclusion.

I would like to assure the House that India will spare no efforts in mobilising world public opinion in support of the South African people's just struggle for a better, more equitable and humane order under conditions of full freedom.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Madam Deputy-Chairman, it is not as if we have at any stage doubted that the Government of India has any other stand but of total rejection of Apartheid. It is not as if anyone in this country doubts about the total revulsion with which every human treat this slur upon humanity. My objection to the hon. Minister's statement is not on account of what is contained in the statement, that the intervention of the Government of India, etc. My objection is a bit more substantial than that. I would have hoped that instead of repeating what was said in the Lok Sabha the hon. Member would come forth not with an essay on Apartheid, not with a description of what the South African Parliament comprises of or what is

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS TO PRIME MINISTER

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN (Tamil Nadu): Madam, may I just take a minute of Mr. Jaswant Singh's time to express our warmest Birthday Greetings to our hon. Prime Minister? We wish him a very, very useful in public life in the service of the nation.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: We wish him many many, happy returns of the day. (*Interruptions*)

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI RAJIV GANDHI): May I thank all the hon. Members? Thank you very much.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: On behalf of the whole House and the Chair, I also wish him happy returns of the day and a long, happy and useful life in the service of the nation.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Thank you.

SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION ON RACIAL RIOTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AFFECTING THE PEOPLE OF INDIAN ORIGIN—contd.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Madam Deputy Chairman, I would also like to associate myself with the sentiments expressed.

Madam, I would like to reiterate what I said when I started by saying that we would rather have hoped that the Minister would come out not with an essay on Apartheid or what the political structure of the Parliament, so called Parliament, of that racist regime is, but really a succinct, hard-hitting account of what we are going to do, not as a vague declaration of good intents but as a positive stand, the steps that we intend taking, either initiated by the Government of India or encouraged or en-

[Shri Jaswant Singh]

abled by such Indians as feel deeply aggrieved by this deplorable situation that is now prevailing in South Africa.

Superficially, Madam, there are some unusual features of the discussion which we are having this evening. They are unusual only in a superficial way. The first is that we are discussing the events in a country which we do not diplomatically recognize. Why, despite not recognizing it diplomatically, do we find it necessary to discuss this in India in both Houses of our Parliament? Amongst the various reasons, one reason, to my mind, is that because these events in South Africa, all the increasing turmoil in that country—they are part, to my mind, of the last stages of Apartheid in that country. To my mind, that racist regime is on the run. And if we tend only ourselves with a pious declaration of what we intend doing, we will not be fulfilling our obligations for various reasons. There is another unusual feature of this discussion. It is a sad, deplorable aspect of the present developments in South Africa, that though this is not the first time it has happened, there is, and there have been, incidents of what we call Black versus Brown, instigated no doubt, with people of Indian origin being attacked, their property being attacked. I think there is a symbolism in it, and there is a challenge in it. The symbolism is best examplified by taking into account the attack on Tolstoy Farm and the Phoenix. And I can do no better than quote in just one minute what Mrs. Sushila Gandhi, who is Mahatma Gandhi's daugter-in-law, and who spent most of her life at Phoenix. This is how she writes of what has happened: "54 years of hard work suddenly goes up in smoke because of mob frenzy." I would not quote everything that she says. "It was not just a question of building a worthy memorial to Gandhiji in South Africa but an attempt to convince the non-White people that the philosophy of Ahimsa and Satyagraha has empirical support." Please mark the fine choice of words. "My husband Manilal and I devoted all our lives to bringing about this realisation amongst the people of South Africa. Today the dream lies shattered in the rubble of Phoenix Settlement."

The symbolism, Madam, the attack on Phoenix, on what ever remains, whatever memorial of Gandhiji remains in South Africa is a symbolism much wider, much farther than merelyon attack on an Indian settlement. I am constrained to observe that either we are not angry enough or we are not angered enough by an attack on a symbolism which represents the Father of this Nation. I don't think, Madam, that our concern that has so far been expressed by governmental statements, by the published statement, for instance, is sufficient as to convince me that it has in it not just an expression of vague sentiments, but it comprises a concerted plan of action. I do submit, Madam, that merely because of diplomatic non-recognition, sufficient cause does not arise for diplomatic inaction. And I do think that as far as the South African situation is concerned, merely because we do not diplomatically recognise that country, we have also not responded sufficiently, sufficiently powerfully as far as the attack on various symbols for which India itself is identified are concerned. (*Time bell rings*) Do you want me to stop?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I want you to stop at some point.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I will stop at some point, Madam.

I will tell you, by substantiating what I am saying, I have no doubt that every Member of the Non-aligned community is concerned about South Africa. We are all students of current political history. We all konw how repeatedly at India's be-

hest all the way from 1946 onwards various statements have been made by Non-aligned Movement on the racist regime of South Africa. The point is not that. The point is this Now, at this moment when this barbarity has taken place, when this assault on the symbol which is India's own symbolism has taken place in South Africa, what initiative did the Government of India take, as firstly Government of India, as secondly the current Chairman of the Non-aligned movement? we are, to my mind, bettered by even a country like France which has broken ranks with the European community. France has taken the initiative, gone to the United Nations, and has brought about diplomatic action through its own initiative which we have not, either as India or as the current Chairman of the Non-aligned Movement.

My second complaint, Madam, is that there is another forum through which India could have acted—the Commonwealth. The Secretary-General of the Commonwealth is arriving in the country. He finds fault with the reactions of the British Government. What did we do as India to initiate action within the Commonwealth in time, not now, not last week, but in time? When these events were taking place, when the attack on the Indian symbolism was being perpetrated in South Africa, then the voice of India should have been in the forefront because it was our symbols which were under attack. Botha's reaction, Madam, has raised expectations on 15th August, yet again a date which is of symbolism for us. On 15th, Premier Botha has come forward with some statement, a kind of mad brinkmanship which does not recognise the current reality of what is taking place in that part of the world or the rest of the world. You have rung the Bell. The Prime Minister's time for intervention has also arrived. I will, therefore, now like to conclude by making some categorical recommendations. Either we realise that Apartheid is on the run, the days of the racist regime in South Africa are numbered, or we do not believe that. If we believe that, then we have to act purposefully, we have to react as the Government of India, as India, much more dynamically about these assaults on symbolisms which are our very own than we have so far. We have to take much more purposeful action to get the entire non-aligned movement raising their voice as one, not when the U.N. General Assembly meets in October, but now, now as France has done or as some of the other countries have done. The forum of the Commonwealth is also there. The Commonwealth is also to meet around that beautiful period of October in very beautiful surroundings. We ought not to miss this opportunity to really get the Commonwealth also categorically state its views on where it stands as far as South Africa is concerned.

Madam, about the effectiveness of sanctions, as far as sanctions are concerned, I do not think that we have explored the possibilities of making these sanctions horizontally more effective by aiding much countries as get affected. If their trade with South Africa is affected. What about the Group of 77? For black and white unity in South Africa, not black and white, for black and brown unity for this artificial perpetration of a terrible wrong, for stopping this disunity between Africans and Indians, because of the actions of the racist regime, for raising a world voice with Indian leadership against this barbarity and savagery. I suggest to the Government of India that let Indians who are ready to go there, go to South Africa, go to Durban, let them be arrested by the racist regime of South Africa if it so decides to arrest them, let India take the lead and say that this attack the Phoenix farm is an attack on everything that Gandhiji stood for all his life. This is indeed the time not for vague pious statements, but some

[Shri Jaswant Singh]

positive purposeful action by the Government of India. Thank you, Madam.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN (Tamil Nadu): Madam, the Prime Minister should intervene after a few more speakers have spoken.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI RAJIV GANDHI): Madam Deputy Chairman, during the past few months the tempers in South Africa have been rising. The blacks are no more satisfied with their lot and they are raising their voice. Gandhiji first felt these pressures of colonialism when he was in South Africa and it was from those roots that the thrust of the Indian freedom struggle was born. It was in South Africa that Gandhiji developed his basic strategy of non-violence. Today that strategy has led to our freedom, but unfortunately, the native blacks in South Africa are still suppressed not just under colonialism, but under the worst type of colonialism, a totally racialist regime.

The hon. Member just now said that France has taken some steps, why has India not done it? I would beg to remind the hon. Member that the steps that France has taken today, India took in 1946 before we got our Independence The Provisional Government of Pandit Nehru took those steps, of breaking off diplomatic relations and of breaking off of trade relations. We are fighting for this cause not just today. It has been a continuous struggle from 1946 onwards. If any one country has solidly stood by the blacks in Africa, whether it is in South Africa or any other part of Africa, it is India.

We have taken a number of steps. Right from 1946, we have been rejecting the so-called Constitutional reforms. We have made it an issue worldwide. We have called for the release of Nelson Mandela and repeat of the emergency. We have given support—moral, material and diplomatic—to African National Congress. The ANC has an office in Delhi. We have appealed for unity amongst the ranks of all for the struggle against apartheid. We have convened a Bureau meeting in April this year, Non-aligned Bureau meeting, to discuss the South African question. It is these actions that have led to an awareness, that have led to things coming up. The hon. Members must also remember that we were the first to give recognition to SWAPO as the sole representative of the people of South Africa. It is such actions which have helped the struggle. We have had a trade embargo with South Africa because we have felt that it is the only way to bring them round to giving full rights to the Africans. Many countries have not agreed with this approach, Today we find that the countries which could easily afford to have a trade embargo against South Africa, find it convenient not to do so. Multinationals invest in South Africa; advanced countries invest and trade with South Africa, It is this that we have to break. It is this that we have been fighting against right from the beginning. Although it would have been much easier for us to continue trading with South Africa, it would have been easier financially, but India has stood on principles. We have not succumbed to economic pressure. Even if we have had to sacrifice ourselves, we have fought for our brothers and sisters in Africa.

Today we find a new theory of—if I remember the word right—constructive engagement being put forward by certain countries. We have heard nothing as ridiculous. Constructive engagement is just another term to avoid having sanctions, to avoid doing something positive to bring this terrible regime to an end. If constructive engagement could work, it should have been applied in the islands of the Atlantic, it should

have been applied in Central America. Today, unfortunately, those that talk of it, do not find it convenient for application in other places.

We have also appealed to the U.N. Secretary General to make an appeal to save the life of Benjamin Moloise who is due to be executed tomorrow morning.

Our struggle for freedom right across the globe will continue. India's freedom struggle was born out of the spirit of freedom that lives in every human being right across the globe. India's freedom struggle and India's freedom sowed the seeds of freedom struggle throughout the world. India's freedom struggle led the way, led the fight, against colonialism. Today too, India will lead that struggle. India will fight. We will leave no stone unturned to remove the last vestiges of colonialism and racialism from this globe. Human rights and civil liberties are values that must apply not only in some countries but throughout the world, in all countries we are with our brothers and sisters. Anything we can do to help them, we will continue to do in the future.

Madam, we will leave no effort to get this terrible racial regime to an end. We will take it up in the international forum as and when major meetings take place. We will take it up bilaterally. In fact, we have taken this up bilaterally with many countries. We will be carrying this on. India will not shirk its responsibility in fighting inhumanity anywhere on the globe. Thank you.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA (Bihar): We are a Member of the Commonwealth. It should be made to move. (*Interruptions*)

श्री मुख्तियार सिंह मलिक (हरियाणा): मैडम डिप्टी चैयरमैन महोदया, ये जो साउथ अफ्रीका के अन्दर वारदातें हुई हैं और जो आप्रेशन हमारे इंडियन ब्रदर्स के साथ वहां पर हुआ है उसके बारे में काफी विस्तार से हमारे माननीय मंत्री जी ने वाकयात को हाउस के सामने रखा है। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने सिर्फ इस हाउस को ही नहीं बल्कि सारी दुनिया की सारी ताकतों को एक किस्म का चैलेंज दिया है कि साउथ अफ्रीका के अन्दर जो कुछ हो रहा है उसके खिलाफ हम दुनिया के हर फोरम के अन्दर आवाज उठाएंगे। मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी को इस आवाज के लिए मुबारकबाद देना चाहता हू और यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जब से हिन्दुस्तान का शासन उन्होंने अपने हाथ में लिया है उसके बाद उन्होंने जो भी कदम उठाये है और जिस चीज के ऊपर भी उन्होंने हाथ लगाया है उसमें उनको कामयाबी ही कामयाबी हासिल हुई है। मैं समझता हू कि इससे ज्यादा खुशी की और कोई बात नही हो सकती है। अब हाउस के अन्दर इस पर बहुत ज्यादा तस्करा करने की कोई बात नहीं है। उन्होंने बाकी कोई बात नहीं छोड़ी है जिसकी हम उनसे तवक्कू करते थे। मैं अपने अपोजीशन के दोस्तों से पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या वे यह चाहते है कि हम साउथ अफ्रीका के अन्दर जो वाकयात हो रहे है उनके लिए वहां लड़ाई करने के लिए जायें? सन् 1946 में हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा था कि हम रेशियल डिसक्रिमिनेशन के खिलाफ आवाज उठाएंगे। उसी वक्त से साउथ अफ्रीका के साथ हमने अपने ताल्लुकात बंद कर दिये। मैं समझता हूं कि इस बात पर पूरे हाउस के अन्दर युनेनिमिटी है कि जो कुछ वाकयात साउथ अफ्रीका में हो रहे है, जो कुछ हमारी इंडियन कम्युनिटी के साथ वहां पर हो रहा है वह इंसानियत के खिलाफ है। इन वाकयात को हमारे मंत्री जी ने काफी डिटेल में हमारे सामने रखा है।

उनको देखते हुए यही कह सकता हूं कि आज साउथ अफ्रीका के अन्दर रूल आफ ला नही है, बल्कि रूल आफ जंगल है। वहां जंगल का रूल है। जिस मुल्क के अन्दर कोई बुनियादी हकूक नही, कोई सियासी हकूक नहीं, कोई आजादी नही, कोई प्रजातंत्र नही, कोई वहां पर आवाज नहीं उठा

[श्री मुख्तियार सिंह मलिक]

सकता और यहां तक कि इतना रेशियल डिसक्रिमिनेशन कि वहा पर एक कौम का आदमी दूसरी कौम के आदमी के साथ एम्बुलेंस के अन्दर अस्पताल तक में नहीं ले जाया जा सकता, मैं समझता हूं कि इससे ज्यादा बहिशानी बात दुनिया के अन्दर नही हो सकती । यह तो सिर्फ राक्षसों के राज के अन्दर ही हो सकता है किसी मोहज्जिज मुल्क के अन्दर नहीं हो सकता । डिप्टी स्पीकर . . .

उपसभापति : डिप्टी चैयरमैन ।

श्री आर० रामकृष्णन् : यह राज्य सभा है, यह लोक सभा नहीं है ।

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Now you are the speaker because you are speaking.

श्री मुख्तियार सिंह मलिक : क्या तकलीफ हो गई आपको ।

तो मै मैडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, आपसे अर्ज कर रहा था कि जो इस किस्म के वाकयात वहां पर हो रहे हैं, हमारे राष्ट्रपति महात्मा गांधी ने साउथ अफ्रीका के अन्दर जाकर वहां के लोगों के अन्दर जागृति पैदा की थी और जैसा कि अभी फोनेक्स सेटेलमेंट के बारे में बताया जो कि उन्होंने वहां किया । तो इन सारी चीजों को देखते हुए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जुल्म की कोई इन्तहा होती है । पाप का घड़ा भर चुका है और जैसा कि प्रधान मंत्री ने बताया है कि जब इस किस्म की वारदातें होना शुरू हो जाती है, इतने जुल्म होते है , दुनिया के अन्दर तो एक कहावत है कि जुल्म करना जुर्म है लेकिन जुल्म को सहना पाप होता है । श्री जसवन्त सिंह जी ने ठीक ही कहा है । मैं उसके साथ इस बात से मुत्तफिक हूं कि लेकिन उनका जवाब हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने दे दिया है कि जहां भी संभव है, दुनिया के किसी भी फोरम के अंदर हम इसके खिलाफ उठ सकते और जो ज्यादा-से ज्यादा किया जा सकता है, वह करने की कोशिश करेंगे । मैं इसके लिये अपने प्रधान मंत्री जी को बधाई देना चाहता हूं । आपका बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया ।

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Madam Deputy Chairman, the latest development in the South African situation is really alarming and calls upon all peace and freedom loving people of the world to respond to it, to put pressure on the Botha's apartheid regime and to save the unity and solidiarity of the freedom loving people of Africa and India. Now is the just occasion and the right time for the people and the Government of India to react and take the right attitude. I welcome the statement of the hon. Extrnal Affairs Minister and the statement of the hon. Prime Minister.

Now what is behind all this trouble, That is the main point we have to understand. We must see through the situation. I read from the same newspaper as my friend has read:

> "Burning of Phoenix was engineered."

That the burning of Mahatma Gandhi's Phoenix Ashram and the racial riots that rocked Inanda district were engineered by the Government of South Africa is confirmed by the trustees of the Ashram. The idea was to put tear of death into the Indians and destroy all their property so that they could not live there. The next step will be the denial of permits for rebuilding destroyed homes".

Now this is the policy, this is the clique hatched by the imperialist backed Botha regime in South Africa. This is the design of the imperialists who are behind the South African Botha regime. As the hon. Prime Minister has said, India has severed all trade, political and diplomatic connections with them, and all the socialist bloc countries have severed all trade, political and diplomatic connections with them. Many-nonaligned countries have also followed suit. But who is supporting them? How do they dare to per-

petuate the racialist Government there? Is it not the US imperialists and British imperialists? Are not President Reagan and Prime Minister Mrs. Margaret Thatcher behind all these things? That is what I want to point out here.

It is clear that the Botha clique is behind the atrocities, the riots and the so-called conflict between the black people and the people of Indian origin there. It is the clique of the Botha regime and the imperialist design which are behind the violence responsible for the mass killings, looting, incendiarism a nd panic. Why? Madam the rulers of South Africa, at the climax of their exploitation and repression of the people of Africa, have taken to the heinous path of dividing the black people of Africa and the people of Indian origin there. It is their design, because the people of Indian origin and the black people, the common people of South Africa, are fighting shoulder to shoulder—as co-fighters—against racial discrimination and they are for racial harmony and freedom since ages.

Madam, the exploitation and repression of the black majority of South African people is beyond description, as the hon. External Affairs Minister has correctly stated here. Now I say it is a tragedy that while we are observing the 40th anniversary of the defeat of the Fascist Hitler, now all over the world we are discussing about this racialist Government, this apartheid Government, in South Africa. This is indeed a tragedy. The whole world is revolting against this. I would say it is shame on civilization, it is a black mark on civilization, at this time when one-third of the globe has come out of oppression of man by man has established socialism.

Madam, even the United Nations has declared apartheid as sheer crime, a crime against humamity. In South Africa this despicable system has been established for the supremacy of 15 per cent of people over 85 per cent of the majority. The tyranny of apartheid is such that they have created a so-called homeland or Bantustan and brought about the so-called constitutional reforms. As the hon. Prime Minister has said, these are of no use at all.

What have they done now there? Only for 13.7 per cent of people out of 73 per cent of the African population, they have selected some place and said this is their homeland. That vast majority of black residents have no political rights, no freedom. They are like alioens in their own land. This is the tragedy. Now they have to carry passports with them when they go to seek jobs and now the authorities there are arresting many people and putting them behind the bars saying that they have violated the passport laws. This is the situation there.

Madam, only one or two more points I want to mention here. These people are fighting for their freedom since long. The African people are fighting against the apartheid Government since long. You know, for the release of Nelson Mandela all over the world people are fighting. We have raised our voice against this tyranny. We have raised in the Lok Sabha our voice. Here also we are raising our unanimous voice to save the life of the young man who is going to be executed tomorrow morning. I hope that our appeal and our protest will have some value and that that policy will be revised.

Mr. Nelson Mandela, the winner of the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding is suffering behind the bar for 23 years. The other day we have seen in the newspapers that his-wife's house has been burnt. Who burnt it? Is the Government not behind it? The policemen stand there just ilke spectators. They do not save the houses when they are burnt or the people when they are killed.

[Shrimati Kanak Mukherjee]

You know, their Parliament is a mock show. In the Parliament, the Whites are 178, the Blacks are 85 and the Indians are 45. The majority of the people have no voting right, no franchise right at all.

I am proud to say that it is India which raised the voice against the apartheid in the UNO even as early as 1946. We are proud that since ages the people of India are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Black people of Africa for their freedom. It may be recalled that it was Gandhiji who started the Civil Disobedience movement after having the bitterest experience of racialism in South Africa. It is not that he took up this fight for some abstract principle only. No. He himself had the bitterest experience of racialism in South Africa. That is why he launched this fight against racialism, against colonialism, and since then the people of India and the people of South Africa are fighting shoulder-to shoulder against racialism against the apartheid regime for freedom of the people of South Africa.

The people of India and especially the people of Indian origin in South Africa will go through the thing, and the people of South Africa also will see through the thing, who is behind this clique, who is behind this conspiracy to make division between Indians and South Africans. It is a design of the imperialists. It is a design of their ally, the Botha regime of South Africa. This is the reality. It is not a reality that Indians are in danger and that we have to save them. No. The danger comes from the imperialists because their conspiracy is against the freedom of the people of South Africa and the people who are living in South Africa since ages.

So, Madam, I am sure, the people of Indian origin there and the South African people and the Black people who are fighting shoulder to shoulder since ages will baffle the heinous conspiracy of the imperialists and their agents, and we Indians here will uphold the great tradition of Indian people in their fight against imperialism and will stand like rocks with our brothers and sisters of South Africa. Those who live in India and those who are living in South Africa will stand shoulder-to.shoulder with our brothers and sisters in South Africa, and we will be in the front line in the fight against the imperialism all over the world, against their conspiracy against South Africa, their consiracy against the freedom-loving people of the world, their conspiracy to launch a Third World-War. We know all the designs are connected together. We do not take the case of South Africa in isolation. They are trying their designs, their plans, on the weakest force, and this is the starting point. So, we must fight along with all other people of the world against imperialism. Indian people of the world against imperialism. Indian people must uphold their great tradition of fighting against imperialism, conspiracies against the freedom of the people all over the world. And now particularly in South Africa their conspiracy of divide and rule to make division between the Indians and the South Africans must be foiled with our united efforts.

Thank you, Madam.

SHRI BIJOY KRISHNA HANDIQUE (Assam): Madam Deputy Chairman, the worst fears of the South African liberation activists have come true in the recent happenings following the declaration of emergency by Botha and escalation of violence as its inevitable consequences. Madam, on the surface it might look a bit puzzling to see why the Indians and other coloured people are being attacked by the militant Blacks who have rightly unleashed an all-out agitation against the racist regime. But it should not surprise anyone who keeps track of the African struggle for liberation. Madam the

apprehensions that the racist regime of South Africa, driven to desperation on being confronted by the liberation forces within and without, would fall back upon the divisive strategy to weaken the fight against the apartheid, are now fully justified. The three million strong coloured community and half-a-million Indians who have been suffering varying forms of national humiliation, discrimination and oppression along with the African blacks constitute an integral part of the social forces ranged against white supremacy and has added a significant strength to the liberation movement. So naturally this dissension and rift once created among them will come pat to the purpose to this racist regime to weaken the African blacks.

As reported by the Washington Post, the Director of the Gandhi Centre which is subjected to wanton vandalism thinks that the riots are being prompted by the Government agents. It is in line with their persistent propaganda that "white domination" will be replaced by only "Black domination" denying the coloured and the Indian communities their rightful places. And Mr. Botha's constitutional reforms which provide for a Parliament with whites, coloured and Indian elected to three different chambers, but keeping the Africans out of politics was, in fact intended to achieve that purpose.

The racist Government is fully aware of the fact that the resurgent Africa today have about 43 independent States comprising 92 per cent of the total population of Africa (over 300 million people) and some 90 per cent of its territory.

Thus, the racist Republic of South Africa is fighting with its back to the wall. Another significant development is that the policy of massive militarisation of apartheid has already started showing signs of being counter productive as the cost has strained the South African economy to a point which has adversely affected the standard of living of the whites in the Republic. This bodes serious political repercussions which the Botha regime cannot ignore. The present declaration of emergency, besides being the naked use of the brute force to coerce the Africans into submission is also a manifestation of the desperate panic which grips the racist regime. And history is replete with instances when panic of the brute force ends up with mounting great sufferings on the common humanbeings.

Madam, what is tragic in the context of the liberation struggle, is that in spite of the phenomenal advance of African nationalism in South Africa till 1980, its progress got suddenly stalled by the reversal in America's attitude. Till then there were some significant achievements: resolving of the Rhodesian crisis by the Front Line States; recognition of the justice of SWAPO's armed struggle against South Africa's occupying forces in Namibia thus conferring international recognition on SWAPO as the single nationalist organisation of all African peoples in Namibia, and finally the UN Security Council Resolution 435 which provided for cessation of armed conflict, withdrawal of South African troops, and free elections under the supervision of UN Transition Assistance Group leading to the early independence of Namibia. Confronted by such concrete achievements on the part of these liberation forces, South Africa was forced to start negotiation with the Western Group, under the framework of Resolution 435, and to take part in the Geneva talks in January 1981, thereby acknowledging for the first time the existence of SWAPO. But then the Geneva Talks broke down. Why? What encouraged South Africa? What gave her strength? Because, for the new American President, Ronald Reagan, the issue of human rights or any African rights in South Africa had no bearing at all on his single-minded drive against the USSR in every part of the globe. Reagan haunted by the

[Shri Bijoy Krishna Handique]

nightmare of Soviet Russia gaining the upperhand enunciated his new doctrine of a 'holy crusade' against the USSR and with South Africa and Israel as *allies, stressed the importance* of South Africa's role in the struggle of the West against Moscow. I would like to quote Reagan himself:

"Moscow's unscrupulous pursuit of ideological and big power ambitions". Madam, from this soon followed a number of decisions. First, relaxation of the U.S. embargo on selling military items to South Africa; Second, an attempt to repeal Congressional restrictions on giving covert support to the anti-MPLA forces in Angola; and finally the invention of a linkage between Namibia's independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. So, it appears, Madam, unless the British. and particularly Americans who have by far the heaviest economic stakes in South Africa—stakes worth billions of dollars are sincere and firm on their pressure, mere piecemeal measures like recalling of Ambassadors by the EEC nations led by France to express displeasure at Botha's state of emergency or imposing a ban on fresh investment in South Africa will achieve nothing substantial. So President Reagan and the conservative circles in Britain should now accept that a change in the policy of so-called constructive engagements which does no more than exhort Pretoria to change its way through quiet diplomacy and which is in effect, tantamount to inaction, is long overdue. The argument that economic sanctions on South Africa will only worsen the plight of the Blacks by disrupting growth and increasing unemployment is strange indeed. This raises a very pertinent question: Are jobs to take precedence over human rights and dignity? Does it not then make their sermons on much talked about 'solidarity' in Poland ridiculous?. The whole world now looks forward to the U.S. Bill on economic sanctions passed by the House of Representatives and now awaiting the approval of the Senate and the President not so much for the adequancy of the pressure, as for the change in the American policy towards South Africa. (*Time bell Rings*) So the attack on the Indians and other coloured communities arising out of the unprecedented scale of Black unrest is motivated to create dissension and misunderstanding among the victims of the apartheid so that the intensity of the counter-offensive can be minimised. Madam, it must not be viewed in isolation and the solution lies in our continuing and re-invigorated commitment to fighting the apartheid. There will be more trouble in the near future for the single biggest union of black miners which has got 1,50,000 members.

6 P.M.

They are launching a massive strike on the 25th of August to cripple production in the gold mines. And this is, in fact, intended not only to secure the basic economic demands but also political demands such as an end to the state of emergency and repatriation of the foreign Blacks. So it is high time that the Indians in South Africa convinced the militant Blacks by their support and commitment to the cause of fighting Apartheid by throwing their lot with the Black Africans in this decisive stage of the battle against Apartheid. The Government, however, should take up the matter with SWAPO, which has been invited to open its mission in Delhi—which is a very good gesture—so that any misunderstanding between the militant leadership of the African Nationalist Congress and the Indian community is removed. The ultimate answer, Madam, lies in pressurising the White racist oligarchy to chart a new course towards political accommodation of the Blacks and convincing the foreign countries, particularly America and Britain, to exert similar pressure and continuing India's efforts through diplomacy. dialogue and mobilisation of world opinion in the UN and in the NAM so as to impress upon the na-

tions of the world to isolate the racist South African Government and particularly to secure the release of Nelson Mandela who symbolises not only the hopes of the oppressed Black population but the hopes of all wronged and suffering humanity. With these observations, Madam, I fully agree to the statement placed by the hon. Minister of state for External Affairs and the statement made by the hon. Prime Minister. Thank you.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: Madam Deputy Chairman, I am happy that an early discussion has been there in both Houses on a situation of considerable international and national importance namely, the racial riots which have recently taken place in South Africa particularly affecting those of Indian origin. I would have been happier still if the intervention of the hon. Prime Minister had been there after four or five Members had spoken; and then we could have heard our good friend, the hon. Minister of State for External Affairs. But whatever it may be, for certain reasons of state perhaps, the Prime Minister had to intervene immediately after the discussion was initiated by my hon. colleague, Mr. Jaswant Singh.

Before I come to the very statement of the hon. Minister. I would like to quote Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who in 1947 said:

> "Asia stretches out her hand in friendship to the suffering brethren in Africa. The freedom that we envisage is not to be confused with, or confined to, this sector or that or to a particular people, but must be spread out to the whole human race."

The grandfather of our hon. Prime Minister, who was Prime Minister himself, made this very pertinent observation regarding Afrca.

Madam, coming to the statement of the Minister, I find that what is listed in the Rajya Sabha List of Business today is "short duration discussion on racial riots in South Africa affecting people of Indian origin." And the hon. Minister's statement reads: "Statement by Minister of State for External Affairs on Apartheid in South Africa." Madam, both are related subjects. no doubt, but both do not mean the same thing. Anyway coming to the statement itself . . . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think the Indians are also affected by Apartheid.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: I know Apartheid includes racial riots because of racial discrimination. They are related subjects. But I am just making a brief mention....

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Apartheid is affecting them.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: But they are not identical at all.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: That is not the point. What has been done is repetition of what was said in the Lok Sabha.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: There could have been a little more finesse by the officialdom which the hon. Minister could have vetted. But perhaps he was engaged himself in so many important affairs that he could not see to that. Anyway the statement smacks of handling by the bureaucrats of the South Block who are well known for their diplomacy, but it could have been in stronger terms. What I am saying is that more care should have been taken on a statement of such an important issue. Though South Africa is distant, we all know that in 1893 Mahatma Gandhi went there and in 1894 he started the Congress there and he was there for the best part of his life, for twenty years, before he came to India to fight for our freedom. Anyway, I would only say 25 years have passed and though public memory is short, one shudders when one is reminded of the sharpwheel massacre

[Shri R. Ramakrishanan]

which took place in South Africa which shocked the entire world. Despite almost the entire world condemning the racist apartheid policy, it is being followed relentlessly by a criminal racist regime there in South Africa which is going on unabated. The arrogance and insolence with which this is being practised by the racist czars has now reached a new high. In fact, I think the puppet Botha's regime can teach the Nazis a few tricks. Despite world opinion to the contrary, the racist regime in South Africa installed a puppet government in Namibia. They have put fear in the minds of the neighbouring countries, the black-ruled States of South Africa like Zambia, Mozambique and Angola, and these States had to pay a heavy price for supporting the national movement against the racist South Africa. The commando-type raids of the South African army on these States really set their economy back and this is the impunity with which South Africa tries to bulldoze and threaten its own neighbours. Destruction and mayhem against both the neighbours are the avowed objectives of the South African charlatans. Now, in pursuance of this policy and having been unable to carry out their constitutional reforms, the so-called constitutional reforms which are nothing but bogus reforms, South African Government has recently imposed an emergency which means further repressive measures. In fact, the African National Congress to which the Minister referred in his statement — its Secretary-General, Mr. Alfred Noh—has said that the imposition of emergency calls for emergency measures and abolishing the apartheid system. And no less a person than the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, Shri Shridhat Ramphal, has said, the South African Government must be treated as a terrorist organisation. This is what they are saying. Already there was enough repression and further repression has been let loose on the innocent blacks and others of South Africa.

Now, coming to the present position, thousands of people have been arrested and are languishing in jails. More than 500 people have been killed in the last eleven months and now in the recent days more than 65 people including five people of Indian origin have been killed in the policy of the South African Government trying to divide and rule by playing the blacks against the browns or the Indians. There are as many as 850,000 people of Indian origin in South Africa and it is really unfortunate that a memorial dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi, a memorial not so much dedicated to his name but to the spirit of *ahimsa* and *satyagraha* for which he stood, and a school should have been razed to the ground. Of course, in the long run the South African racists will not survive. But this is really unfortunate that the handiwork of this racist regime has not come in for enough condemnation and created enough world opinion as it should have, particularly among two nations whom I make bold to name here—many persons who have spoken here have also referred to them—to be very specific, both the United States and the United Kingdom; they have not thought fit to take economic sanctions against South Africa despite whatever is going on It is rather strange that President Reagan, who stands so much for democracy and so many other things, should only have flourishes of rhetoric and has not even raised his little finger. In fact, a Bill has been passed by the House of Representatives for sanctions against South Africa and is awaiting the Presidential assent which it will not get. What does it show? It only shows that only commercial values have gained precedence over human values. This is what it shows. Dozens of UN Resolutions have been passed both in the General Assembly and also in the Security Council imposing sanctions against South Africa. In fact, we must congratulate the Indian Government because right from the beginning they have been consistently taking a policy on South Africa. In fact, even in the case of Namibia, it was India which

along with five other countries, that is, Upper Volta, Egypt, Trinidad and Tobago, etc. initiated a resolution in the UN Council which, among other things, called for severance of all diplomatic relations, called for an oil embargo, called for a ban on landing and decking rights to any South African ship or aircraft and also called for an end to foreign investments and the sale of gold Krugerrands and also for a sports and cultural embargo. Unfortunately, this call which was initiated or started by India alongwith five other nations has fallen on deaf years. There was the famous daughter of President Carter, Amy Carter, who courted arrest like the people in the freedom movement here courted arrest. Then, Edward Kennedy, Senator, undertook a personal visit to South Africa and saw for himself what is going on there in the name of racist regime and it is a sad commentary that in this world the commercial values have at last won and President Reagon who is talking so much about so many things in the name of democracy is not taking any action against South Africa. Madam, is it not something unsavoury in the fact, as the Prime Minister also referred, that the regime which took the initiative in imposing sanctions against and applying pressure on the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua is not imposing any sanction against South Africa? South Africa today is a uranium-rich country and it is the leader in the nuclear world. Like the Islamic bomb which we discussed the other day. South Africa has got the 'Apartheid bomb'! In spite of all these facts, Madam, the US, which constantly pleads for nuclear safeguards and disarmament is encouraging the South African regime. Multinational corporations are continuing to pour in million and millions in South Africa. If this is the state of affairs, then it is a question of trying to preach one thing and practice another thing. (*Time bell rings*).

Before I conclude, Madam, I would only like to say that there is an absolute bankruptcy and degeneration of moral values as far as the US and the UK go and unless the Prime Minister takes the initiative to do something both in the Commonwealth and in the Non-Aligned Movement and launches a diplomatic offensive in the world forums, I do not think that this regime will be taught a lesson. The spirit of freedom will live on. But I would only like to say that this is going to be the beginning of the end of the South African racist regime and I will only quote Mahatma Gandhi who, in 1931, said:

> "If I want freedom for my country, I would not be deserving of that freedom if I do not cherish and treasure the equal right to every other race, weak or strong, to the same freedom."

So, Madam, it is with this in mind that we who feel for our distant cousins, for our brothers and sisters, in South Africa, are anxious to see that something is done to see that the present South African racist regime is taught a lesson. Thank you, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Panicker.

SHRI K. VASUDEVA PANICKER (Orissa): Thank you, Madam. It is not a gratifying thing to stand here in order to speak on Apartheid and imperialism because imperialism is a system which should have vanished from the face of the earth much earlier. But, unfortunately, that system is persisting still and is continuing despite the fact that the whole world is rushing towards the 21st century. Apartheid policy is only a by-product of the more draconian and sinister system of exploitation that is known in the world as 'imperialism'. As a nation, India, who happened to be the mother of the movement, of the struggle against oppression and imperialism has got a responsibility. India has got the right and India has got the duty to intervene anywhere in order to pro-

[Shri K. Vasudeva Panicker]

tect human rights as also to help any movement with a purpose of liberating the people of a country. On the basis of this India has to go a long way in spearheading and giving leadership to the fight of the African people, and especially the people in South Africa, who are trying, who are struggling, to liberate their own country and themselves from the yokes of imperialism. India was the victim of imperialism, and India is still struggling against the efforts of being subjected to the imperialist forces.

There are two aspects to be considered in this matter. Imperialism before 1947. There was a system which was called direct imperialism. After India liberated herself so successfully in many of the colonial countries in Asia and Latin America, and Africa the imperialist system has taken another guise and it is moving with some force, with repression, and this new imperialism is called new-imperialism. India is fighting on her own in order to protect its 70 crores of people and to enable them to stand on their own legs against the new imperialist forces.

Imperialism is a system of exploiters. It is a system which has grown up from the capitalist system, and the capitalist system is an economic order which believes in exploitation against the multitude of the people, exploitation of the dumb millions of people in any particular, given country. So India, as a nation, India as a country, which struggled against imperialism, against capitalism, against exploitation, for more than 300 years, has got a responsibility to spearhead and give leadership in the struggle for liberation of the people of Africa, and especially South Africa.

What is imperialism? Five hundred years ago or probably six hundred years ago, there was something which we called in history as Renaissance. By the fag end of the Renaissance period, there came into being in Europe and especially in the U.K. an economic order. That economic order was of the capitalist system, the basis of which is profit and nothing but profit. That system is a system of exploitation by a few, limited number of people, whose number you can count on your own fingers against the multitude of people who are the emaciated and starving people of a given country. And in Europe, as a result of the emergence of the capitalist system their came into being another situation which the capitalist system faced. Because of the exorbitant production and because of the heaping up of the manufactured items on the one side in Europe, in the European markets, and because of the fact that the people at large, the poor peasants and the manufacturing labourers on the other hand were not having sufficient purchasing power these arose a crisis, a stagnation in production. Their system crumbled; they faced a crisis. The crisis was when the products of the factories were heaped up and there was nobody to buy the products from the market. And because of that the Europeans, the capitalists, thought that their system should not crumble. So in order to protect the system, the capitalists of Europe and especially of the United Kingdom, went overseas, across the seas, to the shores of India, Asia, Africa, Latin America and even America to find new avenues of markets. Seeing the congenial atmosphere there, they could establish their industrial as well as commercial centres ultimately capturing the political power of the people of the colonial countries, and India thus happened to be a colonial country. In Africa, so many countries happened to be colonial countries. In Latin America, many of the countries and many of the people happened to be colonial countries and colonial people. And the UK has become the penultimate force of imperialist exploitation, capitalism developing into a system which was called latter imperialism. Imperialism is nothing but an enhanced, advanced form of exploitation that is caled capitalism.

That system of exploiting the multitude of people at large, in different countries of the world, exploiting them whether in India or in Africa or in Latin America or elsewhere for the last 500 or more than 500 years throughout the world and making these people into a colony and making these people into a heap of slaves, ultimately becoming the King, Emperor and His Majesty and Her Majesty, that system is still continuing. So, we have to fight against such system. India as the Head of the NAM countries has the responsibility to project as the leader of the forces against imperialism. India as the leader of the NAM forces has to fight against the imperialist system. India as a nation which suffered for nearly 300 years under the shuddering yoke of the imperialist forces. India as a nation which fought against the imperialist exploitation under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose and so many other eminent leaders of national stature, and India which gave the torch-light to the people of the world has got the responsibility to interfere in any situation in order to create an atmosphere where the South African people are liberated. In the struggle of the South African people, the people who are called the Blacks as also the people from India and elsewhere and who are struggling and trying to build up their own destiny, for those people, we have to extend our solidarity. And for that purpose, I request the House to request the Government to give all possible help. Thank you, Madam.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI (Assam): Madam Deputy Chairman, we are greatly concerned at the turn of events in South Africa. Madam, it was Mahatma Gandhi who first started his struggle against colonialism and racialism. And India has been persistently fighting against the policy of apartheid, and fighting for the cause of South African people. And in the face of this, the recent attack on some Indians and the Gandhi Settlement in Phoenix is a matter of concern. Madam, the house where Mahatma Gandhi lived from 1893 to 1914 was looted. Looters destroyed the library, the fixtures on the walls and fittings and momentos of Gandhiji's period. How could this situation arise? There is no doubt of the fact that the South African racist Government has been trying to create division within the people of Indian origin and the Blacks as the Government of India has been persistently pursuing a policy which is detriment to the racist policy. Therefore, when these incidents took place, the police of the South African Government did not intervene. They did not try to protect the life and property of the people, both Blacks and of Indian origin. Madam, this apartheid policy has been continuing and the South African Government has not cared for the world public opinion, only for the reason that the western powers are directly and indirectly backing this policy in South Africa. And that is why the South African Government has been able to pursue this policy of Apartheid.

Madam, 22 million blacks in South Africa are denied all kinds of freedom. They have no political freedom and they have no right of citizenship and five million whites are controlling them. The South Africans are living in slums called ghettos and they cannot come out of these ghettos. If they move out, either they will be gunned down or they will be arrested and put in prison.

So, Madam, what is going on in South Africa is nothing but the worst form of fascist regime which is suppressing the will of the people in that country. So, we have got no doubt in our mind, as the hon. Minister has already stated, that this incident could take place at Durban only due to the machinations of the South African Government. This incident is nothing but the manifestation of the machinations of the racist Government of

[Shri Biswa Goswami]

South Africa to create divisions between the people of Indian origin and the blacks. And, therefore, India should continue its efforts to create world opinion against this policy of apartheid and we are glad that both the Prime Minister and the hon. Minister and the hon. Minister of State for Foreign Affairs have asserted that India will not deviate from its policy, from its declared policy of continuing its fight against the policy of Apartheid. We are sure that ultimately the struggle of the people of South Africa will be successful and they will be able to overthrow the worst form of dictatorial and racist Government in that part of the world. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. Yes, Shri Chaturanan Mishra.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : उपसभापति महोदय, साउथ अफ्रीका की गोरी सरकार के खिलाफ और उस की भर्त्सना के सम्बन्ध में कोई दो राय नहीं हैं । जो ख्याल सरकारी पक्ष का है वही ख्याल विपक्ष का है और अभी जो विचार प्रधान मन्त्री ने प्रकट किया और जो हमारे विदेश राज्य मन्त्री ने प्रकट किया है हम सभी उसके साथ है । भारत सरकार शुरू से ही दक्षिण अफ्रीका की आजादी के आन्दोलन का समर्थन करती रही है । अभी वर्तमान प्रधान मन्त्री ने एक कदम और भी उठाया कि स्वापो को उन्होंने मान्यता दे दी है, यह एक बहुत ही सराहनीय काम किया है, उसकी हम सभी प्रशंसा करते हैं । मुझे आज सवेरे एक पत्र मिला अफ्रीकन नेशनल कांग्रेस से जिसमें लिखा है कि

"Comrade Benjamin Moloise is due to be executed on Wednesday, the 21st August, 1985. It is South African penal practice to carry out executions at dawn.

We would appreciate if you could raise the issue, as a matter of urgency, in the Rajya Sabha and have a motion on the lines of the Lok Sabha one, passed. We believe a strong appeal by the Indian Parliament and by the Prime Minister, as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement would, hopefully, help in saving a young life from the gallows."

प्रधान मन्त्री ने अभी इसकी चर्चा की कि उन्होंने तार भेजा है । मैं समझता हूं कि कोई प्रस्ताव अगर सरकार लाएगी इस नौजवान देशभक्त की जान बचाने का तो उसमें जरूर चर्चा होनी चाहिए, हस्तक्षेप होना चाहिए । अभी जो मोशन में है और जो अखबार में बात आई है उसकी एक बात से हम खिलाफ है ।

इसमें बातें ऐसी आ रही हैं जैसे दक्षिण अफ्रीका में कोई दंगा हुआ है भारतीयों और काले लोगों के बीच । यथार्थ में यह दंगा नहीं हुआ है । हम लोग जो आजादी के आंदोलन में थे, उन लोगों को याद है कि अंग्रेज लोग अपनी पुलिस के जरिए, खुफिया के जरिए हिंदू-मुसलिम दंगा करवा देते थे और हमारे यहां आंदोलन को इस तरह से कुचलवाने की कोशिश करते थे । साउथ अफ्रीका में वहां की सरकार ने यही काम करवाया है कि भारतीय लोगों के ऊपर सरकारी दलालों के जरिये से दंगा करवाया है ।

इसी प्रसंग में मैं श्रीमती सुशीला गांधी के उस लेख का उद्धरण आपके सामने प्रस्तुत कर रहा हूं :-

"Having spent 54 years among the people in and around Gandhi's first ashram, I am convinced that the type of wanton destruction that Phoenix Ashram was subjected to could not be the work of the people we know. It is the work of paid agents of the racist government of South Africa."

तो यह पेड एजेन्ट्स सरकार के कर रहे हैं । इस तरह मोशन में जैसा आया है कि दंगे वहां हो रहे हैं, मैं इस शब्द के पक्ष में नहीं हूं कि इस पर सीधे आना चाहिए कि वहां की सरकार ने अपने

पेड एजेन्ट्स के जरिए दंगा करवाने के लिए भारतीय मूल के निवासियों पर हमला करवाया है । इसको इस रूप में लेना चाहिए ।

मैं समयाभाव को देखते हुए कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूं कि हम लोगों को आगे क्या करना चाहिए । विषय यह नहीं है कि हम लोगों में कोई मतभेद है, ऐसी बात नहीं है, पूरा सदन एक है, लेकिन कुछ ठोस काम जो हम की तरफ से किया जा सकता है, मेरी राय है कि हमारे विदेश मंत्री को तुरत अमरीकन राष्ट्रपति से मिलना चाहिए ।

हमारी शासक पार्टी के लोग कहते रहे हैं कि अमरीका के साथ उनकी आइडियालोजिकल एफिनिटी है । जरा इसकी जांच तो कर लें कि एफिनिटी कहां तक है ? लोग जाते हैं वहां, कहते हैं कि आपकी डेमोक्रेटिक वैल्यूज और हमारी डेमोक्रेटिक वेल्यूज एक है, जरा इस बार जांचिये तो कि एक हैं कि कुछ कम है, जरा जाकर इसको जांचिये । इसलिए एक बात मैं यह चाहता हूं ।

दूसरी बात मैं यह चाहता हूं कि कामनवैल्थ में हम लोग—मैंने जब प्रधान मंत्री जी यहां थे, तब भी सवाल उठाया था, अब मैं चाहता हूं कि हमारे विदेश मंत्री जाएं और मारग्रेट थैचर जी से मुलाकात करें कि वह क्यों समर्थन कर रही हैं वहां की सरकार का, दक्षिण अफ्रीका की सरकार का ?

यहां भी आपकी डेमोक्रेटिक वेल्यूज कितनी मिलती है? तो जाकर इसकी जांच कर लीजिए कि कितनी मिलती है और अगर मारग्रेट थैचर नहीं मानती हैं, तब हमको कुछ ऐसे मैजर्ज उठाने चाहिएं ब्रिटेन के खिलाफ जो हमारे लिये सम्भव हों । हम उस तरह के कामनवैल्थ में रहने के पक्ष में नहीं हैं जो हमारे भारतीय मूल निवासियों के साथ इस तरह का घृणित व्यवहार करती हो, जो अभी भी काला समझती हो एक पूरे राष्ट्र के समुदाय को, उसके साथ रहने के हम पक्ष में नहीं है (**समय की घंटी**) लेकिन इसके पहले कि विदेश मंत्री वहां जाएं, इसकी चर्चा हो ।

मैं आपसे भी अर्ज करूं कि पार्लियामेंट्री डेलिगेशन को भी आपको भेजना चाहिए दोनों जगहों में क्योंकि दोनों जगहों में डेमोक्रेटिक वैल्यूज वाले लोग है । तो अमरीकन सीनेट ने कुछ प्रस्ताव पास किया है, कुछ ब्रिटिश पार्लियामेंट के लोग हैं, जाकर के देखिये और देखिये कि इनकी डेमोक्रेटिक वैल्यूज किस स्तर की है जब आता है गुलाम देश के लोगों को आजाद करने के संबंध में ?

तो इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा कि इस संबंध में भी सदन अगुवाई करे ।

अंत में मैं एक बात कहना चाहूंगा कि अगर क्यूबा जैसा छोटा राष्ट्र अंगोला की मदद कर सकता है एक विशेष तरीके से, तो कोई वजह नहीं है कि हम भारतीय इस सवाल पर, अंगोला के सवाल पर तो पूरे नान-एलाइंड देशों के लोग ही नहीं थे, लेकिन हम लोग रंगभेद के सवाल पर तमाम दुनिया के लोग हैं, सिवाय एक-दो राष्ट्रों को छोड़ कर (**समय की घंटी**)

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री आर० रामकृष्णन्) पीठासीन हुए]

इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा, जैसे अंगोला को क्यूबा ने मदद दी थी, उस तरह की मदद इन लोगों को दी जाए । इस तरह से आप चारों तरफ लोगों के पास जाइये जैसे हम अपने विदेश सचिवों को भेजते हैं श्रीलंका में, दूसरी जगहों में, तो अभी हम चाहेंगे कि हमारे विदेश मंत्री उन देशों में जाएं और उसकी चर्चा करें और वहां के लोगों को बचाने की कोशिश करें और इसमें भारत की प्रतिष्ठा भी दांव पर लगी हुई है । कितने दिनों तक आखिर हम सिर्फ समर्थन प्रस्ताव पास करते रहेंगे ? एक दशाब्दी, दो दशाब्दी, तीन दशाब्दी । हम अभी तक उधरण दे रहे हैं, वर्तमान प्रधान मंत्री का नहीं—इनके नाना का— तो थर्ड जेनरेशन आया, कब तक यह समर्थन का प्रस्ताव होगा ?

[श्री चतुरानन मिश्र]

कुछ ठोस काम किए । अगर क्यूबा कर सकता है, तो भारत भी कर सकता है । कांग्रेस के एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा था कि आखिर हम अगर ... फौज भेजी जाए तो यह कोई बुरी बात नहीं होती है । ऐसे ही अवसर पर फौज को भेजा जाता है और इसीलिये सब से राय करनी चाहिए । मैं जल्दबाजी करने के लिए नहीं कहता हूं, लेकिन इस काम को करवाने के लिए सरकार से मैं आग्रह करूंगा कि और भी प्रयास करें । सरकार से हमारा कोई मतभेद नहीं है । मैंने पहले ही कहा कि आप जो काम कर रहे हैं वह सराहनीय है । लेकिन कुछ और जोरदार करने की जरूरत है सिर्फ समर्थन और थपथपी नहीं, कुछ आगे भी हाथ बढ़ाइये । धन्यवाद ।

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA (Haryana): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is most appalling to know that the black population and the Indian population in South Africa is being subjected to the most barbaric atrocities. It is difficult to understand how any group of human beings can be treated in such a cruel manner. Even animals are not treated the way the black population is being treated in South Africa. Apartheid has been condemned by the people all over the world, and it is shameful that all the civilised countries of the world are not able to unite to see that the policy of apartheid, the brutality, practised by the white population is put an end to. Our heart goes out to our brothers and sisters living in South Africa. The values for which Gandhiji lived have been shattered in that part of the world.

I would suggest to the Government of India to intensify its diplomatic moves with other countries so that all the free nations of the world do unite to impose all types of sanctions against the white regime in South Africa, so that it is forced to respect the United Nations Charter on Human Rights. Sir, the people of Indian origin have been exposed to the worst horrors perpetuated by the white regime in South Africa. We must try to help these people in every possible manner to fight the oppression. Sir, the time has come when we must evaluate and assess our relationship with the United States of America and the United Kingdom. Both these countries, though, at times have been paying lip sympathy to the tragedy perpetuated in South Africa, yet, they have not, by their actions, tried to ameliorate the lot of the people there. What happened in Phoenix, the destruction of the Ashram, the school and other monuments over there, has come as a shock to the entire people of this country.

Therefore Sir, I would suggest to the hon. Minister of State for External Affairs that it is time that we, instead of paying merely lip sympathy or saying that from 1946 onwards, till today, we have pursued, we have tried to fight for the cause of the people in South Africa, people of Indian origin as well as the black population, we should take some more positive steps. After all, many countries in the African continent have become free. Most of these countries are members of the non-aligned movement of which India is the Chairman. Apart from that, we are also members of the Commonwealth. I think, being a member of the Commonwealth, we should be in a position to convince the United Kingdom, the British Government, that it is time that these atrocities are put an end to, and for achieving that purpose, all types of sanctions must be applied. The most effective sanction will be, economically, South Africa must be isolated from the rest of the world. If you can do it, you can prevail upon these countries to impose economic sanctions against South Africa, I think, South Africa will have to come to its senses and it will have to recognise the claims of the black population and the Indian population in South Africa. After all, we are now fast approaching the end of the

Twentieth Century and we will soon be entering into the Twenty-first Century. It is difficult to imagine that in this era when every nation aspires to become free and has, in fact, become free, when nations have become masters of their own destiny, when they are all Members of the United Nations and when the United Nations has spelt out certain very very cogent rights, human rights, even at this time, in this particular period of history, in South Africa, these are all bypassed, ignored and neglected. Therefore, I would request the hon. Minister again that he should very powerfully make such moves as to convince the United States as also the British Government to fall in line with us and see that these tragedies which are being perpetraed in Souh Africa are not repeated any longer.

One more word of caution I want to suggest to the hon. Minister. This country has always stood for peace and non-violence and we do not want to go against this policy of non-violence, and ultimately we have seen the victory of non-violence over all oppressive forces. Yet I personally feel that people in that part of the world need not be solaced merely through this doctrine of non-violence, but you should make certain positive moves which would send jitters down the spine of the white South African regime so that in any case it respects human rights in South Africa and paves the way for democratic functioning in South Africa.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is really shocking that recently riots erupted in Durban in South Africa where Indians were killed. As a matter of fact the white regime which is in power is adopting a naked policy of racial discrimination. As a result of it the people of South Africa have lost their right of democracy. The present regime has even denied them the right to vote—one man, one vote right. People have no right to elect their own representative government. This policy has been pursued by the South African Government, not now but since days gone by. I fail to understand why all democratic countries of the world—the Western countries, America, Germany and Britain—which profess their faith in democracy, which talk of democracy, are not impressing upon the South African Government to adopt the democratic policy. We are in the Commonwealth. Britain is in the Commonwealth. All other Commonwealth countries are there. You must try and see that all these Commonwealth countries, the non-aligned countries, the United States of America are persuaded to bring upon the South African Government to change its policy and see that the people of South Africa who constitute 80 per cent of the population should have their birth right to elect their own government. It is really shocking that the places where Mahatma Gandhi had started his work of non-violence, against tyranny of the whites—those symbols, those monuments—have been destroyed in the recent riots. The Museum has been destroyed; the Library has been destroyed; the Phoenix settlement has been destroyed. It is really shocking that the very place where the principles of non-violence were started and preached, has been reduced to ashes. In such a situation we have to see why this situation has arisen, why there has been rioting in South Africa between the black people and Indians. What are the reasons? Whether the Government has tried to find out the cause, or whether the South African Government is behind these riots—these are the things that we have to find out. The real cause has to be found out and nations which are really interested in preservation of democracy and human rights should be approached and persuaded to bring pressure on the South African Government. We have to move the United Nations Organisation, the Commonwealth countries, the Non-Aligned countries and ultimately we have to see that America does something if it really wants to. We must see that America takes an active part;

[Shri B. Satyanarayan Reddy]

we must play our role to impress upon the American Government not to support the South African racial government. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Shri Dhabe—penultimate speaker.

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we are discussing this subject today when a grim tragedy is going to take place tomorrow. Benjamin Moloise, the freedom fighter of South Africa, is going to be executed tomorrow. I don't know what efforts this Government has made till now in this matter, but I would like the House to be informed whether any efforts are being made to save the life of this brave fighter.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Didn't you hear the PM? He said the Government is making efforts. In his intervention he referred to it.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: He expressed his concern . . *(Interruptions)* ... If it is so, he can say it is already said by the Prime Minister. Sir, it is a very serious occasion on which we are discussing this issue.

Sir, this policy of apartheid and racialism has to be condemned —in fact it is condemned by many countries of the world. But I find from the statement of the hon. Minister that he stated, "I would like to inform the House that this perception is shared by the ANC and leaders of other African States. . . We are confident that the people of South Africa will see through the transparent attempts of the racist regime to create artificial divisions in their ranks. The racists' manoeuvers cannot stop the march of history." What is required of us is this. I am sure the Government would make all efforts—and also our colleague and friend, the hon. External Affairs Minister—through different channels to bring pressure on the South African Government to stop this policy. We have not succeeded in the last 40 years. But, as the Prime Minister has said, multinationals which are operating from America, UK and other western democracies are really helping and boosting the economy of South Africa. Those countries have not broken their relations with South Africa and trade and commerce is still going on between South Africa and those countries. Therefore, it is very essential that democratic countries who talk so much of principles of freedom and liberty should be asked by us—should be pressurised by us—that they must take a stand on this question. The UNO session will be coming up in a few months and before that if our Government succeeds in creating world public opinion, I am sure, some way will be found to have this problem solved.

Sir, less than one person out of ten in South Africa is a White, but the White minority there is ruling the Black majority and their methods are crude and uncivilized. They have no regard even for Mahatma Gandhi, and the Phoenix settlement has been destroyed. It is really sad for us that such things are happening there and even settlements and other things associated with the name of Mahatma Gandhi who fought for the freedom of our country could not be saved by us. It is really a tragic thing which is happening at this time.

Sir, many things which are hapening there are not known to the people of our country. They are now running a compaign there that the people of Indian origin are fighting the black Africans. Therefore, I suggest to the hon. Minister that a White Paper is necessary to educate our people and also the people abroad on this problem and to let them know what kind of atrocities are being committed by the South African regime.

Lastly, I congratulate the Prime Minister for his assurance to the House that India will make relentless efforts to see that the people of South Africa and the people of Indian origin there get democratic rights.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Last but not the least, Shri Gopalsamy.

SHRI KHURSHID ALAM KHAN: Firebrand Mr. Gopalsamy !

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, are you willing to deport me to South Africa?

SHRI S. W. DHABE: Then you can fight better!

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI MARGARET ALVA): You will be the right person to fight

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): He would prefer to go to Sri Lanka.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Yes, definitely if I am provided with weapons by the Minister.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Please proceed.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, today we are discussing on the floor of this House and adopting the Resolution condemning the crime of the apartheid and extending our support to the fighting Blacks in South Africa as well as to protect the interests of the citizens of the Indian origin in South Africa.

When man is able to walk even on the surface of the Moon due to the spectacular achievements in Science, we have to hang our heads in shame to admit the fact that millions are shedding tears and blood not only in South Africa but in many parts of the world due to this crime of apartheid, the crime of racism. Many have laid down their lives to cherish the noble cause of fraternity and universal brotherhood. Mahatma Gandhi, the Messiah of the oppressed and under-privileged, who gave the gospel of *ahimsa* and love and peace not only to India but the whole mankind, had to face the fate at the hands of an assassin for the noble cause to continue his crusade against racism and hatred likewise, Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King had the same fate because they had taken up the crusade against the racist policy of the Whites against the Blacks.

It is very saddening to note that the Phoenix settlement has been totally destroyed, the houses have been demolished, and even the house in which Mahatma Gandhi lived, was ransacked and destroyed. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is most painful that in South Africa the White regime is capable of engineering riots between the citizens of Indian origin, the Browns, and the Blacks. This divide-and-rule policy, the British, the Whites, practised wherever they had their colonies. It is because of their divide-and-rule policy now that our people, the citizens of Indian origin, are attacked by hired agents, by anti-social elements—they have not quarrelled with the Blacks—although we have raised our banner for their freedom.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in South Africa they passed a law, Pars law the most draconian law, by which the Blacks are forced to go, not to live in the White areas. They have to go to their assigned homelands where they cannot earn their livelihood, by which they are again forced to go to the White areas as foreign, migrating labour, to earn their bread. It is most appalling. Even the Dutch Reformist Church has dubbed this system as a cancer in the South African society.

When they started their African National Congress in 1912, they did not believe in violence, in taking up arms. They started their struggle, they continued their struggle, through peaceful

[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

means. I quote Nelson Mandela who is languishing in a notorious prison for 23 years. He stated why they have taken up arms. He said:

> "It was only when all else had failed when all channels of peaceful protests had been tried, the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle and to form the military wing of African National Congress."

Sir, many number of resolutions have been adopted in the United Nations and in the Non-Aligned Meet and the Organisation of African Unity, but for what use? They never cared. The South Africa, Pretoria regime never cared. Even the Prime Minister was very, very pertinent on this point that the Pretoria Government is backed by vested multi-nationals. They have got their own vested interests. They are exploiting the precious natural resources of that territory. I am very much worried about the racists regime possessing an atom bomb. It is supposed to be a clandestine nuclear power. It is this regime which is supplying all arms and ammunition to another racist regime in Sri Lanka. Even thirty days ago the Sri Lanka racist regime has purchased two ship loads of weapons from South Africa. South Africa and Israel are supplying men and material to Sri Lanka to kill our people and annihilate, decimate, and wipe-out our Tamils there. Israel has sent their MOSSAD force to kill our Tamils. South Africa is supplying all sorts of arms and ammunition. Sri Lanka is able to get arms from the Western powers through South Africa. They are training their people to kill our Tamils. I am very sorry to point out (*Time bell rings*) that this sort of enthusiasm on the part of our Government to condemn racist South Africa for its apartheid policies in that country does not exist on Sri Lanka issue. I do not find the same enthusiasm in the Government as far as Tamils in Sri Lanka are concerned. I accuse the Government for its discriminatory policy. This is the discrimination of the Indian Government even in condemning discrimination. (*Time bell rings*). You condemn when discrimination exists in South Africa but not so, when you find in Sri Lanka. You adopt resolutions. But in 1983 when the most unfortunate Wellikade prison massacre took place, you did not adopt any resolution to condemn the genocidal act. You are not here to condemn the genocidal activities of Sri Lanka. You are sending our cricket team today. I thought Mr. Salve will be sitting here, but he has gone just ten minutes back. He is handling the affairs of our Cricket Board. Our people are dying there. Yesterday our Finance Minister has said that yes we share your concern. What is this? Is it not ridiculous to send our cricket team on a goodwill mission to play a series of matches in Sri Lanka? They are playing with the lives of our people. According to my information in the early morning today, some of the villages have been totally surrounded by the Armed Forces.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Please conclude.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Our people's lives are in danger in Sri Lanka. You are sending our cricket team there. That shows your attitude. Have you got any answer for this? The Tamils in Sri Lanka were shocked to hear that our cricket team is going to visit that country in spite of the massacre that took place four days back. So, when I extend all my support for this Government to fight the crimes committed by apartheid against the Blacks. At 7 P. M. duty if I do not accuse this Government for its discriminatory attitude as far as Tamils in Sri Lanka are concerned.

SHRI KHURSHID ALAM KHAN: Sir, at the outset, I would like to thank the Hon'ble Members who have made their useful contribution to the debate and I also fully share the concern that

has been expressed by most of them I would like, right at the outset to assure them that the Government is quite aware as to what is to be done and what we can do. We will leave no stone unturned to see that every possible effort is made and never-say die till victory is achieved; that is the slogan I would like to mention. In particular, I would like to mention the Hon'ble Member, who initiated the debate, my friend, Mr. Jaswant Singh, for whom I have great respect. We have mutual respect in fact. I would like to assure him that we have raised our voice since 1946 and we are doing everything possible in a the fora—international fora as well as in the bilateral field, but I would like to disagree with him that my statement was a thesis on apartheid. In fact, it contained a statement of facts as we know them. I thought that, at the outset, it would be useful if I share those thoughts and information with the Hon'ble Members before they speak. In theory, I quite agree that the apartheid envisages separate development of different races constituting the South African population as stated by the South African Government. But 15 per cent of the white population cannot rule over the 85 per cent of the black and the Asian population for ever under the circumstances, they are doing at present. In practice, apartheid not only results in sever disadvantage and discrimination but in fact, it causes more serious emotional persecution, social and physical persecution and surely, no people, no country or no sensible people would like that certain people of certain countries should be subjected to this kind of persecution. Racial discrimination, as we have said very often is in the garb of apartheid is most appalling, brutal, barbaric and cruel and this persecution has to be stopped and everything possible will have to be done to ensure that this is stopped. The Prime Minister has mentioned in this House that he will leave no stone unturned and every possible effort will be made to help these helpless people. This apartheid is not only inhuman but is cruel as mentioned in my statement and therefore what we have to do is to ensure that we really help them in such a fashion that they get some benefits. The most important thing, at the moment, is that there should be no division between the Blacks and the Asians. Actually, what happened in PHOENIX and the settlement there and what happened to the memorials and the buildings associated with Gandhiji was not the work of the Black in general but these were the people who were hired. It is obvious from the fact that the Police and the Army did not care to intervene and stood as disinterested spectators. Actually through friendly diplomatic missions in this country we have tried to get detailed information about the damage in of Phoenix. It has been stated—we hope that this information is correct—that only the archives building has been completely destroyed. The desdruction of this building with archives is a great tragedy because we can never build up these archives and will never be available to us and to future generations, indicating what Mahatma Gandhi had done there and what sacrifices the people had made.

Sir, here I would like to mention that India has consistently followed a policy of boycott of South Africa in the diplomatic, commercial, consular, cultural and sports fields. India was the first country to ban, as I said, trade and commercial exchanges with South Africa in July 1946, much in advance of the UN Resolution in this regard. After that, whenever this matter has been taken up in the Security Council, India has always suggested, and the other non-aligned countries have also always suggested, that there should be mandatory sanctions against South Africa. But it is rather unfortunate that certain patrons of South Africa have always used the veto power against it. It has not been judiciously used. When the French realised that what was happening in South Africa was inhuman and cruel and what the non-aligned countries and India in particular

[Shri Khurshid Alam Khan]

were pursuing was the right policy, they also decided to fall in line. We hope that the other countries also who have been using the veto power will certainly realise soon that this veto power should not be utilised for such purposes where human beings are being persecuted for only being black or Asian.

Sir, the Non-aligned Group in the Security Council tabled an amendment some time back in which it was clearly indicated that mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII should be enforced against South Africa so that South Africa feels the pinch and comes to its senses. It was again their patrons who vetoed this resolution. So it was not possible to achieve our objective. Even then we did not give up our efforts and an extraordinary meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-aligned countries was held to take stock of the situation in South Africa in July 1985. The meeting adopted a communique condemning the Pretoria regime for its policies and for its action in imposing a state of emergency, and reiterating Non-aligned solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa. The communique also condemned the US policy of constructive engagement. As the Prime Minister mentioned, this policy of constructive engagement is only for South Africa and not for Latin America and other places where they should utilise it. But we still feel that unless mandatory sanctions under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter are applied it will not be possible to bring home to the South African Government that what they are doing, they cannot continued for a long time.

Sir, I entirely agree with the hon. Member, Mr. Jaswant Singh, that this is the beginning of the end of Apartheid policy in Africa. They have seen the writing on the wall and, therefore, they are indulging in this kind of barbaric acts and treatment to the black people and the Asian people. We shall take up this matter at Luanda at the Ministerial Meeting of the Non-Aligned Bureau. We also propose to take up this matter, pursue this matter, in the Security Council, and just as Mr. Jaswant Singh and other honourable Members have mentioned, it should also be taken up at the CHOGM—meeting later this year. This morning itself I had detailed discussion about this matter with the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat and I am sure this matter will find a place in the discussions in the meeting which will be held in October. We have been trying to pursuade the Western powers in particular to see reason and fall in line with the non-aligned and other African countries to ensure that whatever is to be done, has to be done immediately and that it should be done in the shape of economic sanctions; otherwise, it will not be possible to have any impact on the policies of the South African Government. But it seems the Western powers give more importance to their trade and commerce with South Africa and therefore, they have been dragging feet. But I am sure that soon they will realise that against the Public opinion of the world it would not be possible for them to continue to patronise the Government of South Africa which is indulging in inhuman acts against the blacks and the Asian people and their racist policies. Shrimati Kanak Mukherjee is not here, I entirely agree with her. All the countries should unitedly take up this issue and try to help the helpless people of South Africa in such a fashion that the South African Government comes down to realise this matter and decide to give up its racist policy and realizes that the majority of the population, 85 per cent of it, cannot be ruled by the 15 per cent minority of that country. I would also like to mention what we have been doing and what we propose to do in future. We have given all assistance to the African National Congress and we have

provided them all facilities because they are not in a position to work within the country and therefore, they are working in exile. We have been extending all cooperation to them and have been giving them all help that is necessary. Shri Ramakrishnan said that we should look into the actual topic of discussion mentioned here, but the statement is about apartheid.

Actually between what—we said in the other House yesterday and the situation today I think there has been no change and therefore, we had to say all this. You will kindly agree that the root cause of the trouble is Apartheid which has been responsible for the persecution of the people about whom you were so concerned.

Sir, my honourable friend has brought in the question of Sri Lanka. He should realise that at the moment we are discussing South Africa, not Sri Lanka. In any case, Sir, I would certainly like to tell him that what India has done will be a part of the history in bringing about peace.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: In betraying the Tamils.

SHRI KHURSHID ALAM KHAN: What we have done for the Tamils will be a part of history.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It is part of history in betraying the Tamils (*Interruptions*).

SHRI KHURSHID ALAM KHAN: Well, you can call it betraying.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: This is what posterity is going to call it. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI KHURSHID ALAM KHAN: Well, you may call it anything. But we believe in doing what we want to do. (*Interruptions*). I would certainly say that what we have done is actually something which most of the people have welcomed. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Let us not pass any judgment now.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Minister, do you justify sending our cricket team when our people are being killed in Sri Lanka?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): You leave the judgment to posterity. Let us not engage ourselves in any discussion on this now.

SHRI KHURSHID ALAM KHAN: Apart from this, Sir, since the turbulence started, we asked all the Ambassadors of some African countries who have got their Missions in this country and we told them that they must immediately take up this matter and convey our concern to their Governments and their Governments should also take up this matter and condemn what is being done in South Africa. I am glad that there has been cooperation in this regard from all concerned. Similarly, one of the friendly Missions here was requested by us to take up this matter with their Mission in South Africa and to let us know all the details of what is happening there and whatever details we have been able to get, we have been able to get through them alone.

Now, Sir, I think that there is not much that I can add to my statement which I already read out in the beginning and I suppose it contains most of the important information that was needed by the honourable Members.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: You have not said anything about the question whether the attention of the USA has been drawn to the atrocities committed there.

SHRI KHURSHID ALAM KHAN: Well, as I said in the beginning also the building up of public opinion is the best pressure that can be put by all the countries.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: You have not taken any steps.

SHRI KHURSHID ALAM KHAN: Sir, it is not possible to carry on with this running dialogue.

RESOLUTION SEEKING CONDEMNATION OF THE INHUMANE POLICY OF APARTHEID OF THE RACIST REGIME OF SOUTH AFRICA AND ISSUANCE OF AN APPEAL BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO CALL UPON THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME NOT TO EXECUTE BENGAMIN MOLOISE

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Mr. Minister, if you want, you can read out that Resolution.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI KHURSHID ALAM KHAN): Sir, with the permission of the House, I would like to introduce a Resolution which should be adopted unanimously and if I am given the permission, then I would like to read out that Resolution.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Is it the pleasure of the House that the Minister be given leave to read out the Resolution?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes, yes

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Yes, Mr. Minister, you can read out that Resolution.

SHRI KHURSHID ALAM KHAN: Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution:

"This House unanimously resolves—

(1) to condemn the inhumane policy of apartheid of the racist regime of South Africa;

(2) to denounce the attempts of the South African Authorities to divide the African, Asian and other peoples of South Africa struggling for their fundamental rights;

(3) to appeal to all the freedom-loving forces of the world to remain united in the struggle against apartheid;

(4) to call upon governments to impose effective and comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa;

(5) to call for the unconditional release of the brave patriot, Nelson Mandela, and other freedom fighters;

(6) to continue to extend all support to the freedom struggle of the people of South Africa and to espouse their cause in all relevant international forums;

(7) to call upon the forthcoming NAM Ministerial meeting at LUANDA and the fortieth commemorative session of the UN to redouble efforts to secure the liberation of the people of South Africa from the unmitigated crimes of apartheid; and

(8) to call upon the people of Indian origin in South Africa to continue their struggle in solidarity with their African brethren in their common cause against apartheid."

The motion was adopted.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): You should have mentioned about the execution of. . .

SHRI KHURSHID ALAM KHAN: Please have some patience. This is an appeal which I would like to make to the House and through the House this would go out.